Furthermore, during the summer months, large numbers of families leave the malocas and build flimsy huts in the heart of the woods, where in their isolation they encounter more abundant game.

It is certain, however, that this tribe is one of the largest and most powerful in the valley of the Amazon. Alcide d'Orbigny hesitated whether to consider it a mere tribe or a nation. It has long been a strongly organized republic. The central malocas, located beyond the active reach of our authorities, enjoy the same boundless freedom as if they formed an independent State.

In face of the impossibility to carry out by myself a strict census, I must rely on the opinion of a citizen who resides in the town of Itaituba and whom I judge to be very competent in this matter. I refer to Lieutenant Joaquim Caetano Corrêa, a wealthy tradesman who was nominated to the post of superintendent of the Tapajoz River Indians by Councillor Sebastião do Rego Barros, President of Pará, in September 1853, and who has exercised this function ever since.

Although this respected citizen has never been to the central villages, he nevertheless entertains close relations with the Mundurucu who live along the banks of the Tapajoz. [101]

Here is the population table furnished by Lt. Joaquim Caetano Corrêa.

NAME OF THE MALOCAS	POPULATION
Dauapone	1,500
Carucupi	2,300
Dairi	2,600
Capipique	2,000
Necodemos	2,100
Aikã (Samuuma)	1,500
Acupari	800
Areucrê	700
Arebaduri	400
Teiu Curupi	500
Ipsananti	600

554 In addition to the glory of being an owner of a head, he was a valuable economic asset due to the charm that the head exerted over game.

726 622 Warfare was an occasion upon which the position of the chief became of great importance. The young warriors depended heavily on his experience and leadership. His authority was not unlimited, but it was more fully exercised and more necessary to successful results than during any peaceful endeavor in the village.

726 181 This is only a brief sketch of Mundurucú warfare for its complexity rivaled the war patterns of the North American Plains Indians. To the Mundurucú, themselves, it was the most important single pursuit and characterized their way of life more than any other activity. Its results were extremely destructive to other tribes but was a source of élan and vitality in Mundurucú culture.

Religion

771 The following discussion of Mundurucú religion will be brief and will touch mainly on those points pertinent to the problem of socio-cultural integration. In conformity with Tropical Forest patterns, the religious system was of great simplicity. There were the typical Tupian spirits of animal, fish, and plant species, souls of the dead and certain malignant spirits.[22] Magic was simple and usually directed towards antisocial ends. The only specialist was the shaman. All the males participated in the ceremonials

22. cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 102-109; Oberg, 1953, pp. 53-4.

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

values were supernaturally reinforced by their possession of the sacred trumpets, or *karökö*. Each village maintained a set of three of these instruments, and they were absolutely taboo to the eyes of the women, who were thought to have once owned them.

Political controls were not elaborate. Each village had a chief, whose position was bolstered by the fact that his sons were generally exempt from the matrilocal residence rule. Although there were no patterns of continuous supravillage leadership, relations between communities were very close and involved intermarriage and joint participation in ceremonies and warfare. Tribal feeling was highly developed and conflict between villages was totally absent.

THE CONDUCT OF WARFARE

Mundurucú warfare was distinguished by a complete lack of any defensive psychology, and the Mundurucú looked upon themselves as aggressors and victors. They have been described as " . . . one of the most valorous and feared [tribes] of all the hinterland of Amazons" (Almeida Serra 1869:4), while, on the other hand, the French explorer Henri Coudreau (1897:142) wrote in righteous indignation that, "The Mundurucú practice neither justice, nor duel, nor warfare, but only assassination." This harsh judgment seems not to fit the people who extended my wife and me kindness and hospitality, and who were invariably soft-spoken, humorous, and gentle. But these same gentle people spoke at length and with great animation of their former prowess as warriors and of expeditions against other tribes in which the enemy men and women were killed and decapitated and their children stolen. Nothing about their own culture interested the Mundurucú as much as the extinct but still remembered patterns of warfare, and the older men were zealous informants on that subject.

The human world was seen by the Mundurucú to consist of two distinct spheres; there were "people" or Mundurucú, and *pariwat*, a term referring to any non-Mundurucú human. With the exception of the neighboring Apiacá Indians and the white men, all pariwat were enemies. An enemy was not merely a person to be guarded against but was a proper object of attack, and the Mundurucú pursued this end with extraordinary vigor and stamina. Before 1795 they attacked Santarém and ranged near the mouth of the Amazon to strike the fort of Gurupá. Hartt (1885:116) stated that Mundurucú war parties had penetrated into the eastern part of the province of Maranhão, where they were beaten back by "Apinagés."[2] Tocantins (1877:98) claimed that the Mundurucú knew the city of Cuyabá in Mato Grosso, and informants told of raids as far as the upper waters of the Juruena, São Manoel, and Madeira Rivers. These expeditions apparently carried the warriors over 500 miles from home and must have involved trips of well over 1,000 miles. And the Mundurucú traveled solely by foot; bark canoes were made and used only for the purpose of crossing large streams. These were exceptional journeys, but

10:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

different in kind, for the central theme makes a sharp and conscious dichotomy between desirable behavior within Mundurucú society and toward the outside world. These opposite aspects of their dual ethic did not conflict but served to reinforce each other and are essential parts of an internally self-consistent view of humanity.

The Mundurucú first came to the attention of colonial Brazil as a tribe of dauntless warriors inhabiting the forests and savannah country east of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará. Their reputation for unmitigated ferocity and hostility towards other Indian groups and white settlers grew until 1795, when Brazil authorities established peace with them and diverted their energies into attacks on tribes still unpacified. They achieved considerable success in their service as mercenaries, and by the end of the nineteenth century, there were no hostile Indians within hundreds of miles of Mundurucú territory. Mundurucú warfare ended with the general pacification of the region in the beginning of this century, and they now pursue a peaceful existence, hunting, tilling their gardens, and collecting crude rubber for sale to white traders.

Mundurucú warfare represents one side of a dually oriented system of ethical values. If one is to view them from this perspective, they appear, to use the descriptive terminology followed by Ruth Benedict, to be true Dionysians.[2] But the internal social order stressed harmony, cooperation, and

[2] Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (New York, 1946).

181 non-aggression to an extent compa-
577 rable to the Zuni Indians of Arizona; in this light their culture is Apollonian.

121 The apparent disparity between these two concepts of desirable conduct towards one's fellow man points to a weakness in the configurational approach of Benedict and others. According to their interpretation, ethics are a part of a central theme which pervades all aspects of any one culture and endows it with a total and unique pattern. If major ethical themes are analyzed, on the other hand, as being an integrated and integrative part of the social structure, moral values can be related in a functional and pluralistic way to the total culture. Such a dual system of ethics, when viewed functionally, does not have to show ideational consistency, for its rationality lies in the structure of the society and, ultimately, of the culture.

186 The major unifying theme of the Mundurucú view of humanity lies in the division which they make, explicitly and verbally, between those who are Mundurucú and those who are not. Only the former are called "people," while the latter are referred to categorically as "outlanders." In times
[609] past, all "outlanders" were considered to be enemies and proper objects of attack.

This is not a racial or genetic concept; the name "outlander" is frequently applied today to many fellow
[177] tribesmen who have adopted white men's ways to such an extent that they no longer operate within the closed circle of Mundurucú society. Further-

[p. 371(A)]

726 burned, men and women killed and decapitated, and children stolen.

728 It has been said that, although individual warriors sought glory, the primary purpose of war was social and only secondarily the gratification of individual egos. The patterns of boasting and vainglory common among North American Indians of the high plains were absent among the Mundurucú.

[626 A young man who made great claims
554] of prowess was pushed to the fore dur-
157] ing the actual attack as a means of suppressing ego-assertion and not to validate it.

181 The suppression of individual inter-
577 ests in favor of those of the collectivity
578 of Mundurucú is consistent with the dual ethic and world-view of this war-oriented society. The joy and pride that they obtained from external aggression is matched only by the horror aroused by internal strife. A Mundurucú man never struck another in anger. If dissension arose, the principals temporarily avoided each other rather than show open hostility. Intragroup tensions did exist for a variety of causes, among which rivalry over women and fear of sorcery were predominant. The culture provided few internal cathartic mechanisms for latent agression, and, in fact, it enjoined social harmony most positively.

754 The execution of sorcerers was the
[689] only situation in which drastic action was taken against another Mundurucú, and the decision to kill the suspected witch had to be taken by the group as a whole. Sorcery and accusations of sorcery were common in all villages, and the subject was so feared that peo-

754 ple were loathe to even speak of it. Interestingly, the sorcerer was not thought to practice his art against particular individuals, but was believed to make and disperse evil spirits which might attack anyone with whom they came into contact. A general malevolence was said to pervade the sorcerer; he was simply "angry at everything."

754 Sorcery provides interesting insights
181 into the mechanisms by which the
577 Mundurucú ethic was maintained and the dangerous forces which they believed to be inherent in man and nature kept in check. While the practice of black magic may be considered as a covert channel for the latent aggressions of the sorcerer, only persons who had inherited shamanistic power were able to manipulate the evil forces. But the locus of sorcery and its punishment was social and not individual. Just as black magic was directed towards society, at large, so was the ultimate function of retribution of importance to the well-being of the social system.

[726] The universe of the Mundurucú was permeated with potentially harmful supernatural beings and forces, which could be appeased and controlled with proper techniques, and the killing of the sorcerer was a personalized means towards this important end. Furthermore, the generalized anti-social tendencies attributed to the sorcerer were a projection of similar suppressed emotions carried by the population. The destruction of the practitioner of black magic was effectively the destruction of centrifugal tendencies within the society.

181
577 Internal harmony within the house-

181 Internal harmony within the house-
577 hold and within the village were
476 thought to be a necessary part of social and economic life. The men of the vil-
[562] lage as a whole hunted and cleared forest for gardens in cooperation, and the women of the large, extended family-household carried out their tasks in unity. Foods were shared among house members and by all the people of the village. The individual
[564] and the biological family of man, wife, and children had no independent existence external to their roles within the extended family and the village.

Cooperation and collectivism were recognized as positive, desirable values. A Mundurucú would be ashamed to unstintingly deny goods or services to his fellows. The actual extent and mode of mutual obligations were determined in specific situations by the roles connected with kinship status, but beyond this, the central ethical theme stressed generosity, hospitality, and aid between all Mundurucú.

The suppression of individual strivings is manifest in the total lack of patterns of competition or ego-assertion within Mundurucú culture. A Mundurucú man never strove to prove himself the better of others in any situation. An individual took pride in rec-
[554] ognition as a proficient hunter, a valiant warrior, or a repository of lore, but he did not openly and competitively seek such honors for their own sake. It is to be noted, also, that all of these goals were of value to the society which benefited by it.

534 Although prestige was attainable
156 through the above accomplishments,
577 it was not considered good for a man

554 to stand too far above his fellows. A
156 Mundurucú never boasted of his
577 achievements, nor would he compare himself to others. In fact, it is most difficult to elicit any sort of comparative evaluation of the moral worth of particular individuals from any Mundurucú.

439 The prevailing tone of Mundurucú
577 values is perpetuated in the modern trade situation, for Mundurucú do not
[141] make commercial transactions among themselves. Trade with whites is expected and sought, but those Mundurucú who conduct trade with their fellows as employees of the whites and on behalf of them are recognized to operate outside the ethical system and attract considerable antagonism. Thus, the modern economic ethic of the Mundurucú is colored by the same dualism as existed in their warrior period.

186 The duality of Mundurucú ethics
577 is closely associated with the institutional core or nexus of the culture. Hostility towards the outer world goes beyond mere distrust and suspicion; it is a positive assertion and celebration of the integrity and cohesiveness of the society. While acting as an escape-valve
[121] for intra-social aggressions, warfare served to produce tensions which, paradoxically, contributed towards maintaining balance in the social structure.
[154] Witchcraft may be said to have functioned in much the same way.

181 Manly virtues were esteemed in
577 Mundurucú culture, and hunting ability was valued second only to strength in war. Male unity in a hostile world was expressed in the semi-military or-

10:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

[51] ganization of the men's house, which
577 also formed a focus for male social participation. Cooperation in the econ-
[476] omy was elaborated far beyond the minimum necessary for effective exploitation of the environment; warfare
[72] was pursued beyond the requirements of security and its overt magico-religious purposes.

War and fraternity were ritualistic in nature. The relationship between them was causal in the sense that they were interdependent; intense militarism was made possible by male cohesiveness and male cohesiveness was fostered by warfare. Munduruc\u00fa society was welded by kinship and the ethic of harmony and cooperation. No
[58] commitments were owed to those outside the system; the humanity of others was recognized, but it entailed no duties. To have extended the intense moral obligations between Munduruc\u00fa to persons outside the system would have effectively vitiated and devitalized it.

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[p. 374 (A)]

[pp. 374 (B) - end not processed for the files. - Analyst]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

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the setting

In the Amazon valley, a region where ferociousness was the mode, the Munduruçú Indians enjoyed a reputation for unalloyed, untempered savagery until the turn of the century. Their war parties ranged outward almost every year, striking indiscriminately at tribes anywhere within a radius of five hundred miles, burning the villages, kidnapping children, and taking heads of adults as trophies of their exploits. They did not indulge in cannibalism, as so many of their neighbors, but the terror they inspired was so great that they themselves were seldom preyed upon and eaten. Their homeland on the upper Tapajós River, south of the Amazon, was rarely attacked, and though they no longer go to war their reputation still protects them from the hostile tribes of the region.

Wild and lawless though the Amazon may still seem by

[P. 1]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

of the extent of the population from the German explorer Karl F. P. von Martius's figure of 18,000 to 40,000 Munduruc\u00fa in 1819 and from the Brazilian traveler Antonio Tocantins's calculation of 18,910 in 1875. Henri Coudreau, a French explorer, reported the Munduruc\u00fa population of the upper Tapaj\u00f3s River to be 1,429 in 1895; this estimate is undoubtedly more realistic than the previous two, but it is probably too low, for it is unlikely that the Munduruc\u00fa should have lost only 200 of their number in the past half-century. My own calculation of the number of Munduruc\u00fa in the upper Tapaj\u00f3s area in the mid-nineteenth century is approximately 5,000. This figure is based on the number of villages at that time—about 25—and their probable average populations—about 200 each; it is admittedly a guess.

The Munduruc\u00fa enjoy a solid position of importance in the history of the Amazon Valley. Now friendly and docile rubber collectors and horticulturists, they were once the most warlike tribe of the region. A series of attacks on Portuguese settlements on the Amazon brought retaliation by the colonial troops in 1795, and thereafter the Munduruc\u00fa were the friends and military allies of the whites. The capitulation of the Munduruc\u00fa was a recognition of both superior force and the material advantages to be derived from intercourse with the whites. The Munduruc\u00fa continued their pursuit of warfare against other tribes, although occasionally as mercenaries of the colonists. Their special fame derives from headhunting, one of the major goals of their wars.

Some customs and institutions might be mentioned that distinguished the Munduruc\u00fa from their Tupian neighbors. The Munduruc\u00fa have never manufactured any of the common intoxicants of the region, although they are now fond of alcoholic beverages. In the sphere of material

each other. Though I was an outsider, I had at the time been several months with the tribe and this departure from what I expected of a tribesman upset me considerably. Bihai turned out to be a great problem in other ways. He cited his own importance as a justification for the demands that he made on me for gifts. And he bragged continually of his ability to deal with whites, to lead his followers, to hunt, or to do almost anything in either the realm of traditional Mundurucu activity or in their relationships with the outside world. He strove desperately and openly towards the acquisition of prestige and of material goods, which he had accepted as indicators of prestige. For this reason our mosquito boots were admired greatly, as this would surely differentiate him from his hereditary Indian fellows--shortly after one of his visits, my wife discovered that her boots were missing. And we met no other Mundurucu so brash. They felt free to enter our house at all times, but only Bihai would demand a cup of coffee and then lie in our hammocks; he was quite offended when we pointed out to him that his body paint was staining them. Bihai had other most unusual characteristics. He spoke freely and critically of other men to us and did this even in the presence of third parties. Nor did he bother to conceal his hostility and contempt when someone inimical to him was near. But underneath this façade, Bihai was a frightened and anxious man. He would often confide to me darkly that "people are talking about me." Lest this be interpreted as paranoia in the clinical sense, I should stress that people were indeed talking about him, and Bihai had every reason to be anxious. Not only his ego but his very life was in danger.

III

Bihai's behavior grated against almost every single point of Mundurucu expectations regarding how a chief should act and how men, in general, should behave. Mundurucu society is inherently egalitarian and based upon the principle of maintenance of solidarity among a group of males who are conceived to be peers. It has a peculiar structure in that it is divided into patrilineal moieties, which in turn are differentiated into a number of patrilineal clans. But the normal mode of residence is matrilocal, and men generally move to the villages of their wives. This disperses the clans throughout all the villages, for a young man, when he marries, leaves the father from whom he obtains clan membership. It also produces a dualism of loyalties in which the man maintains a clan identity and, with it, defined role obligations and also acquires membership and roles in the village of his wife. This produces a classic form of organic solidarity, for the society is bound together by cross-cutting segments. But it is a very simple form of organic solidarity and an extremely brittle one. Social cohesion must be vigorously maintained and individual strivings muted, for alliances in cases of conflict cannot range along simple segmental lines. To support a fellow-clansman in a crisis may pit a person against his village mates and vice versa. In a society with a population of only 1,200, living in communities of 60 to 100 persons, such stresses are serious threats to social stability in any event; in one of the Mundurucu type they may be totally disruptive. The social system not only presumes solidarity but requires it for maintenance.[7] Given the structure of Mundurucu society, the effective social actor was one who was cooperative, unaggressive, unvocal, quiet, and willing to place the will of the collectivity before his own. It may be immediately perceived that Bihai presented a threat to prosperity and to the social system. He was belligerent, loud, self-centered and acquisitive--all the things that a Mundurucu should not be.

/8/
241 which may easily be fitted into the following outline of the technical development of a garden plot:

1. Choosing the site and the quality of the soil.
2. Determing the size and shape of the new plot.
3. Clearing the undergrowth.
4. Felling the trees.
5. Burning the felled vegetation.
6. Piling up and burning the remaining brush.
7. Digging and planting.
8. First and second weeding of the plot.
9. "Tearing up" the plot (pulling up the manioc roots, gathering the harvest).
10. Replanting the garden.

Let us now take up these tasks, one by one.

242 [181] 1. Choosing the site and the soil. The Indian is, by nature, a practical person. When he is thinking of preparing a plot, he naturally looks for conditions that will most facilitate his task and ensure the safe growth of his garden. For this purpose, he chooses the land most favorable to horticulture, for all sites are not adequate to planting. Preferably, he sets up his plot on slightly sloping ground or on a mild incline, so that rain water and freshets will drain immediately. He takes flat ground only when it is somewhat sandy, permitting rain water to trickle down to the subsoil rather than remain stagnant in the field. This is also the reason why gardens are not set up in humid lowlands: the roots, the tubercles would rot. Aside from this, [125] he also makes sure that there are no ant nests or vermin on the chosen site. Ants would cut down all the manioc, ruining the garden completely.

Even when he finds a site in good circumstances, the Indian is faced with the question of what he can plant in this soil. As a rule, he has a good knowledge of soils and their qualities, and from the experience of generations he knows, almost intuitively, what he can expect from them. In other words, he understands /1/ empirically what he can plant there and what the result will be under normal circumstances. The size of the plot derives, at least in part, from

/22 cont./ This cooperative labor exists in fact up to a point in the villages, and must be understood within the framework of the division of labor and its juridical bases, which apply first and foremost to the right to private or individual property. As regards garden matters, we are dealing with the joint task of two social elements, male and female, and their respective cycles of labor. Men and women, however, even after they marry and form a family, do not lose, through marriage, their individual property rights to their part of the garden, for the Indian is basically an individualist and does not recognize communal property rights. To compensate for this, they have recourse to a concept which we might call "right of indemnification" and which refers to the communal usufruct of the plot by the man, the wife, and, of course, the children for whom they are responsible.

It is well to explain this matter of plot ownership in greater detail.

I believe that it is necessary to make a distinction between the owner of the plot, and the owner of the labors performed on this plot and of the results obtained.

The land, in the forest and even within the area occupied by the tribe, has no owner. Anyone may clear a plot wherever he wishes. But once the site has been chosen, it becomes a property for the entire period while it is producing; it is then the man's property. After it has been abandoned, however, it becomes once more anybody's and everybody's land, unowned land. /23/ (12) There only

12. Among the Tenetehara, also a tribe of the Tupi group, a similar phenomenon is observed. "Garden lands, that is to say, land on which people have expended labor, are either individual or group property. During the time a man still has crops on the site, it belongs to him. But as soon as he has